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for which the women in the household are almost entirely respon- 606
sible. The son-in-law in his turn behaves respectfully towards the elder members of his wife's family. The tensions which I have described as inherent in a matrilocal marriage system of this kind make these presentations very significant in maintaining a family and village structure which, as I have explained, is one of rather precarious balance.

Accepted sex roles. Social structure, as I have used the term here, 554
consists of a series of social roles which are associated with membership of the different social groups of which the tribe is composed, or with different status positions in it or with formalized relationships, such as that of subject to chief. In the present connection the roles which are of special interest are those based on sex and age and the social behaviour expected of husband and wife.

The ideal of a Bemba in the old days was military success and with it the exaction of tribute and slaves from conquered peoples. This is arrogantly expressed in the phrase 'We Bemba cultivate with the spear and not the hoe'. Patient industry in agriculture was not as much admired as the power to command service from others. The ability to attract followers by generosity, the elegant exchange of courtesies, and by personal popularity was highly rated. The organizing powers and judgement which are essential to the achievement of either of these aims are admired in themselves.

Thrift and the slow accumulation of property are not admired 556
since they cannot be achieved in terms of Bemba economy. Children are brought up to share everything they have with the group they are with and easy and even reckless giving is praised. Bemba also admire display of all kinds, but here, as may be imagined, the display is not so much of personal possession but of followers and adherents, who walk about with a man of note and praise him.

Bemba admire ceremonious behaviour in personal relations, 576
exact forms of address, the recognition of social precedence and rights to respect, and the avoidance of quarrels, unpleasantness and 'scenes' which might disturb the delicate balance of village relations. They praise suavity and self-control in personal relations. They delight in circumlocutions and allusive speech, and seem [195]
sophisticated in social contacts, as compared with their neighbours, the Bisa.

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Appendix B

881 533 *mbusa*. It is also a passage concealed from the outside world as the girls are concealed from the eyes of the rest of the community under the blankets. Monkeys are represented throughout the chisungu as being enterprising in thefts, usually for the sake of the family.

The immediate interpretation given was that the song meant the hiding of the girls from the village; and that the crawling was meant to make them look ridiculous. I. A. Nkonde gives:

'How shall we go into the ceremony? Shall we enter like monkeys that crawl in in stealth? Thus we show we are forsaking the normal way of life. But we have to go through dark and difficult places before we get wisdom.'

Kasonde says:

'How shall we enter in? We shall enter exposing our buttocks like monkeys.

We are free in the house.

There is nothing secret to us.'

No. 2. Setting the Fish Traps. Sung while making imitation fish traps out of leaves (p. 65):

[539] *Ubwamba bwali bwandi!* Here is my fishing weir!
Ndetabataba no mono. I am bustling about to set a fish trap in it.

[226] *Interpretation. Ubwamba* is a fishing dyke built in mud across a backwater. The *mono* is the conical fish trap set in it. *Bwamba* also [195 831] means nakedness and hence is used as an euphemism for the sex organs. The leaf cups with which the women pretend to catch each others' fingers apparently represent the fish-traps and also the vagina of the woman. Fish appear as symbols of fertility through- [842] out the ceremony and the women mention this in immediate explanation of the relation to the words of the song, i.e. 'The mother says, "The girl was my responsibility, but I cannot teach her everything. I have tried to do so up to now but I have failed and therefore now I have to entrust her to the *nacimbusa* to carry out the ceremony for her. If she refuses it means there is no hope for my girl".'

No. 3. The Chisungu falls off. Sung after the girls have made their first jump over a faggot bundle and are carried back to the village (p. 66):

8: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1937
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614 to three hundred years ago. Membership of a *mukoa* determines a man's legal affiliation, his descent, and his succession to the name and status of dead relatives, or to particular offices, ritual or political. It gives him certain rights to hospitality and support.

614 The distinguishing mark of clan membership is the use of the *mukoa* name. A man describes himself as a *mwina* (plural *bena*) or a member of such and such a clan (*e.g.*, *mwina nkalamo*, a member of the lion clan).[3] Besides its title the clan possesses its own 'praise-names,' to give the English term used for such honorific terms of address as the *Sibongo* of the Southern Bantu. These praise-names are phrases making reference, usually in boastful language, to the names of the first, or most famous ancestors of the clan, or mentioning an incident in its early history, or the attributes considered to belong to its members. Such sentences are used in greetings, in jokes between members of different clans, or in public declamations before a *mukoa* head on some ceremonial occasion, usually at the court of the Paramount chief. The *mukoa*

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[537]

[3] The same word *mwina* is used to describe the subject of a chief, the inhabitant of a district, or the consort of a man or woman. In the western part of the district and in the Katanga area of the Belgian Congo, *Bena* is used to preface tribal names as distinct from clan names, *e.g.*, *Bena Cishinga* in the Bangweolu district, or the *Bena Kalundwe* in the Katanga area, *cf.* E. Verhulpen, *Baluba et Balubaises*, 1936.

[p. 188(c)]

614 186 •195 praise-names are very similar to those shouted in honour of a chief on formal occasions or used as titles of address to him, and these phrases, preserved exactly in traditional form, and often expressed in archaic language, appear to be characteristic of Bantu chieftainship and clan system. Malinowski has shown in a typical Melanesian society how the myths of a clan origin, 'owned' and recounted by its members, form a recognized charter for the exercise of legal privileges such as rights of occupation of land or ritual prerogatives, and it is quite [773] probable that among Bantu, where myths, in the sense of tales of the miraculous doings of clan heroes are rare, yet the recitation of the names of clan or chiefly ancestors, the repetition of stories of their lives, or the shouting of a key sentence or proverb from such tales may fulfil very similar sociological functions.

614 It is the name of the Bemba *mukoa* and the story of its acquisition by a special lineage group [616] that provides the basis for the pairing of opposite clans, or *banungwe*. The clan names are those of a variety of objects, animal, plants, meteorological phenomena such as rain, parts of the human body, and even cultural activities such as funeral lamentations. The most common are [192] the following:—crocodile (*ngandu** or *ngwena*—the royal clan), fish (*sabi*, or in the Bisa country *tembo*), lion (*nkalamo*), leopard (*ngo**), otter (*mbao*), rat (*mpuku*), frog (*luo*), bees (*kashimu*), elephant (*nsofu*), wild pig (*ngulube* or *Cabala** or *nama*), tortoise (*Nkamba*), goat (*mbushi*), dog (*mbwa*), honey-bird (*nguni*): millet (*besa**), porridge (*bwali*), mushroom (3 clans—*boa*, the ordinary word for mushroom, *mwansa*, a special type of mushroom, and *ngona*, the Bisa mushroom clan), grass (*kani*, diminutive of *cani*), gourd (*lunda*), castor-oil seed (*mono*), wild loquat (*mumba** or *Cilufya*), tree or drum clan (*ngoma* or *muti* in Bisa country), beans (*nkanda**): iron (*mbulo*), rain (*mfula*), anthill (*culu*), male genitals (*membe*), female genitals (*nkashi*), lamentations (*nkonde** 614 or *misoa*), pot (*inongo*). It is interesting to note that some of the names are words no longer in 171 common use, *i.e.*, those marked with an asterisk, and that the majority of these titles are found widely spread among those Rhodesian tribes which claim an origin from the Luba-speaking peoples in the Congo, such as the Kaonde, Bisa, Ushi, Unga, etc. This is especially true of the